YUGOSLAV DISILLUSION BY G. E. R. GEDYE

THE Nation

January 9, 1954

20¢

Daughters of Vigilantism

by Ralph S. O'Leary

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

Giving Away the Atom — *Leland Olds*

A Review of Gordon Dean's "Report on the Atom"

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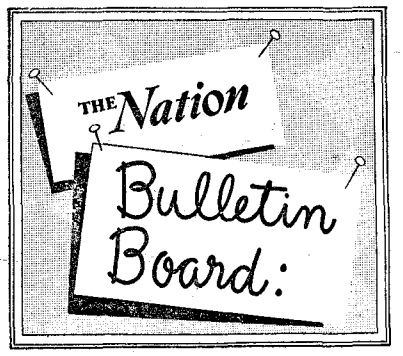

IN THIS ISSUE: Reporter Ralph O'Leary's fine story of the Minute Women of Houston, a hyper-patriotic outfit, touches briefly on the dangers posed by such groups throughout the country. Unfortunately, too many of these groups have an unwholesome invulnerability, since few publications undertake to expose them for fear of being accused of attacking 125 per cent simon-pure Americanism.

It is to the credit of the Houston *Post,* owned by ex-Governor and Oveta Culp Hobby, that it assigned O'Leary to do a series of articles on the real nature of the Minute Women. In the coming year *The Nation* intends to direct more attention to these "grass roots" counterparts of the McCarthy-Jenner-Velde committees.

. . . You'll find G. E. R. Gedye's analysis of the Yugoslav attitude toward England and America interesting reading. Rated one of the best-informed European correspondents—he was well-known during the '30's for his ardent anti-fascism—Gedye is a former New York *Times* and London *Times* staff member. His books include "Betrayal in Central Europe," "The Revolver Republic," and "Heirs to the Hapsburgs." At present he is contributing to liberal English and American journals as well as covering Central European news for the Manchester *Guardian.*

WE'VE A COUPLE of runaway best-sellers on our hands, I'm happy to say. The sales of the Does Silence Mean Guilt? reprint have hit 40,000; we've ordered a fresh supply, so if you're waiting for your copies please be patient with us.

The other best-seller is the special sixty-four-page Civil Liberties issue—with 20,000 *extra* copies in quantities of one to three thousand sold to date. Now that the holidays are over—the pleasant but all too temporary lull induced by Christmas—orders for the issue are beginning to pour in anew. If you want extra copies (there's a notice on another page of this issue) please order them now, for the supply is limited.

OCCASIONALLY I see letters in our mail lamenting over the decline of the liberal spirit among young people. As an antidote for this feeling I prescribe a dose of the *Academic Freedom Newsletter* published by students at the University of Chicago. You can get a copy of it by writing to the Student Committee of Academic Freedom, Reynolds Club, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

. . . Talking about young people: the other day another backhanded compliment to *The Nation* turned up in the promotion copy of the *Freeman*—edited by that embattled host who see America going Socialist any moment now. Seems that one of the *Freeman's* staff met an old friend's daughter "who attends a leading Eastern university." He watched her open her copy of *The Nation* and then heard her say, "Now I can find out what really to think about what's been happening." Shocked, our good freeman subsequently learned that *The Nation* is "the only journal of opinion she reads" and furthermore, the young lady added, "we all do."

If that estimable young woman can take time out from reading her copy of *The Nation,* I would like to invite her to lunch; or is she perhaps just a promotion man's bogy to scare up some extra dollars for the *Freeman?*

MARTIN SOLOW

CORRECTION: Through a typographical error, a quotation which appeared in the editorial of our December 26 issue was ascribed to G. H. T. Krimble instead of G. H. T. Kimble.

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Volume 178, Number 2
New York, Saturday, January 9, 1954

THE Nation
EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

France at Berlin

Although Washington did not like Moscow's proposal to postpone the Berlin conference until January 25, it accepted the change and thus relieved the minds of its allies. The British, who had shared the American desire for the earlier date, were glad Russia had not tried to delay the meeting until after March, when the question of French ratification of E. D. C. will presumably be settled. As for the French themselves, they are quite ready to take advantage of the respite provided by the Russians, even while recognizing the political motives that prompted the gesture. For it is a fact that if the conference had met on January 4, as the United States proposed, Mr. Bidault would have gone to Berlin as a "lame duck" Foreign Minister, unable to speak for the government to be formed after President-elect Coty takes office on January 17.

The question remains whether even by January 25 France will have a government capable of representing the country with the substantial authority Mr. Bidault now lacks. It took five weeks to resolve the last Cabinet crisis, but political observers on the scene believe that a decision may come quickly this time. The deals and concessions made by the various groups composing the majority that finally brought about the election of René Coty may have their counterpart in the building of a Cabinet when the new President takes over. If this turns out to be the case, the Premier and Foreign Minister—who may well be Messrs. Laniel and Bidault again—will at least have a mandate. But it will not rest on a very firm base. The lack of a "real" majority must still prevent any French government from taking a strong line on the extremely controversial issues on the Berlin agenda.

Nor will the French position be helped by American insistence on a united "free" Germany, armed and allied with the West through E. D. C. That formula has not been modified so far as anyone knows, and it is one which no French Foreign Minister will be able to defend at Berlin. Bermuda did not resolve this difference, and the NATO council meeting which followed only sharpened it. The Russians risk little—and gain considerable good-will—by providing France with the time to get its new President in office and its new government in order.

Report on the Hot War

The year ended with little hope for a truce in Indo-China. The troops of Ho Chi-minh have launched a winter offensive in the narrow neck along the Thailand border. The news was a shock to the French people, coming as it did after the Viet Minh leader had tendered feelers looking towards a settlement. Adversaries of the Laniel government seized upon the development to criticize both Laniel and Foreign Minister Bidault for having ignored the opportunity for negotiation in favor of a policy of seeking further American aid to pursue the war.

The new offensive has revived the controversy over whether France has really done everything possible to end the bloody conflict. It is recalled that six years ago, in the first major parliamentary debate on the issue, Premier Ramadier said: "It is not by force that we shall solve the Indo-Chinese problem; but only through peaceful means." But at that time military experts were convinced that the 110,000 soldiers of the French expeditionary force would quickly crush the 40,000 Viet Minh partisans, so no one listened to Ramadier. Today 400,000 soldiers oppose each other across the front lines and the decision is as far away as ever.

The year ended no more cheerfully in Morocco, where violence flared up at Casablanca at Christmas time. Casualties: seven dead and seventeen wounded. France's drastic decree that every terroristic act would be punishable by death has apparently failed to discourage the Moroccan extremists, some of whom—as we have pointed out—are operating from bases in Spanish Morocco under the benevolent eye of the Franco regime.

The Lash, Club, and Mailed Fist

Our City of Los Angeles is in the throes of another of its recurrent civic frenzies. Apparently part of the growing-up phase for communities is learning how to take an adult view of social problems. Measured by this scale of

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The Nation, January 9, 1954. Volume 178, No. 2

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1953, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc. 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representatives for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $7; Two years $12; Three years $17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

maturity, the City of Los Angeles is still an infant community although it was founded in 1781.

On December 6 three young Mexican Americans got into a street fight, at the corner of Seventh and Broadway in downtown Los Angeles, with two marines. In the course of the fight a bystander who intervened was killed or, more accurately, died, for it is not certain what happened to him. An autopsy report shows that the man had degenerate blood vessels and that his death might have been caused by a blood clot resulting from excessive emotional strain. In any case, a grand jury has voted murder indictments against the three youths.

From this distance, we would ordinarily not comment on an incident of this kind in advance of trial. However, the extraordinary but painfully familiar behavior of the Los Angeles press would indicate that here is another Sleepy Lagoon case in the making (this was the case that touched off the zoot-suit race riots of 1943). As a matter of fact, the newspapers of the community behaved in exactly the same fashion in 1948 and again in 1950 (see The "Wolf-Pack" Crusade, *The Nation,* June 10, 1950). Today the local press is again braying about "Mexican" crime as though the Mexican variety could be distinguished from any other. A front-page editorial in the Los Angeles *Herald-Express* demands "the use of the lash, the club, and the mailed fist" against so-called *pachuco* (read Mexican) gangs, and an article in the Los Angeles *Times* argues the propensity of Mexican American gangs to commit murder, assault, robbery, rape, narcotic peddling, burglary, and theft. For years New York newspapers dreamed up periodic "crime waves" in Harlem until public opinion finally forced them to shows some restraint. Nowadays New York newspaper readers are sophisticated enough to realize that an ordinarily diligent reporter can, by an artful reading of crime statistics, turn up a "crime wave" almost any weekend. Perhaps because they have witnessed fewer race riots, the residents of Los Angeles are more gullible.

After booting UNESCO out of the public schools, we had hoped that the city fathers of Los Angeles might, by rigorous self-discipline, overcome their susceptibility to giddy nonsense and sober up. We were mistaken.

King Stork and King Log

Bowing to Senator McCarthy, General Electric has announced that any of its 230,000 employees who acknowledge membership in the Communist Party will be discharged, while those who refuse to answer questions about membership put to them by McCarthy will be suspended without pay and later fired if they fail to obtain clearance from a government agency. Once the Administration adopted this policy, it was clear that private industry would have to do the same sooner or later. Concerns that fail to follow General Electric's example will

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be brought into line by the government. Already the Defense Department's top security officer has suggested that the government should be given authority to ban "security risks" from working in any plant which might be "indispensable" in the event of war. The implications are obvious. Under the new requirements a certificate of loyalty has replaced the union card. Commented the Providence *Journal*:

> In effect, the vast electric company has now constituted itself a punitive and enforcement agency for the extra-judicial system which Senator McCarthy has carved out for himself step by step through the use of legislative investigating powers.
>
> No rules of evidence, right to counsel, or right to jury trial obtain in this special court. Conviction is automatic if the witness (*i.e.*, defendant) invokes his constitutional privilege under the Fifth Amendment. And such conviction now is to be followed by swift and effective punishment: dismissal from employment under a cloud.
>
> Communism is a tenacious and pervasive evil, and its assault on freedom necessarily has to be countered with harsh measures. But there is a homely and terribly pertinent warning for present-day America in the history of Aesop's frogs, who called in King Stork to free them from the rule of King Log and were promptly gobbled up to the last tadpole by their cynical savior.

Do the Democrats Want a Program?

The recent National U. A. W.–C. I. O. Conference to Fight for Full Employment, held in Washington, was a heartening departure for a labor union—and a timely reminder to Congress of some of the real issues that face the country. Approximately 1,000 delegates attended the conference, nearly as many as attended the United Automobile Workers' annual convention. Only a few days after the sessions Americans were forcefully reminded that labor has reason to worry about the job market in view of the "recession" into which, economists say, the country has already slipped.

Reviewing almost every aspect of the national economy, the U. A. W. passed a resolution based on a three-point program: (1) extension and implementation of the 1946 Full Employment Act to meet the present situation; (2) increase and extension of unemployment and old-age benefits, raising the minimum wage to $1.25 an hour, an equitable tax schedule, and an adequate farm-support program; (3) a guaranteed wage as a stabilizing factor vital to the American economy.

"There are enough unmet needs within the United States and among the free peoples of the world," says the resolution, "to provide full production, full employment, and steadily rising living standards. . . . Only by putting more buying power into the hands of the people can we hope to absorb the full production of our industry and agriculture."

De Gasperi Against Pella

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris

FRANCE is not the only country whose political stability has been shaken by the cold war. Ever since the June elections which marked the close of the De Gasperi era Italy has existed under a precarious political truce. Caught between a left growing ever more powerful and a right growing ever more aggressive, the Christian Democratic Party is now threatened with a parallel division within. Its left wing demands a policy that would take into consideration the discontent of the Italian workers. The leaders of this faction realize the danger of strikes, such as recently occurred, in which Catholic workers, defying repeated threats and denunciations from the Vatican, made a common front with the Socialists and Communists. But most alarming from the point of view of the Christian Democrats was the support given the workers by the general public. The fact that La Pira, the popular mayor of Florence, placed himself at the head of a demonstration protesting against the closing of the Pignone works, is an interesting symptom of a change that is taking place in European politics generally. Here is a trend of immense significance of which certain Western statesmen appear dangerously ignorant. They fail to see that the "irritating delays" in the realization of NATO council recommendations stem in part from the growing strength of labor opposition to a policy which holds wages down while billions are spent on armaments.

While the Christian Democratic left insists upon a "more social" program and does not entirely exclude the possibility of a coalition cabinet in which the workers would feel themselves represented, the party's right wing would prefer to share the government with the Monarchists, the majority of whom oppose strongly any concessions to the workers.

NATURALLY the Premier suffers from this division in his party. It must be recalled that when he formed his Cabinet in August everybody agreed that it was provisional. He has exhibited a good deal of political suppleness and has succeeded, where others—like Piccioni—failed, in repairing the damage caused by the overthrow of the eighth De Gasperi government. But what helped him most was the general agreement that he was to deal only with urgent current business, such as the budget, and that the big political readjustment imposed by the election result would take place in the autumn.

A clever politician, Mr. Pella made good use of the national emotions generated by the Trieste affair. His firm position against the ambiguous Yugoslav declaration gave him, before the first month of his premiership was over, the almost unanimous support of the Italian people. But now that relative calm is reigning on both

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sides of the Adriatic and the European conferences at Paris and The Hague are over, Italy's potential domestic conflict is again on the verge of exploding. It is a conflict not only between Christian Democracy and the other parties but also between De Gasperi and Pella.

De Gasperi, who exchanged the premiership for the post of secretary general of the Christian Democratic Party, has been reproaching Pella at more or less secret party meetings for not defending Italy's "European" policy with sufficient firmness. His disagreement with Pella became public during the parliamentary debate on the recent amnesty. The law, although it has some generous features, denied amnesty to men serving more than four years for political crimes. This hit especially at the extreme parties—the Communists and the Neo-Fascists. The combined opposition of both threatened to defeat the project and Pella, wishing to avoid a crisis, was inclined to give way. It was then that De Gasperi rose to condemn Pella's "neutralist" attitude and to denounce the "confusion" he was sowing in Catholic ranks. De Gasperi rallied the moderate parties of the government coalition and the Monarchists outside it in support of the original provision.

In a much-discussed article De Gasperi has since openly posed the problem of the government and its majority. In his opinion Premier Pella and his "technicians" should not merely maintain themselves in power by finding for each issue a new majority, sometimes including more of the left and sometimes more of the right. Forgetting that it was the electoral defeat suffered by the Christian Democrats while he was Premier which left Pella in so precarious a position that he must resort to these expedients, De Gasperi asked for strict adherence to principles and for a "big program." Apparently he resents the manner in which Pella has continued to get along with all parties, from the Monarchists to the Nenni Socialists.

While De Gasperi's article will not constitute a direct threat to the Pella regime until after the January vacation, the Premier will have to make his choice when Parliament reopens and either move toward a definitely "progressive" policy—defying his predecessor—or toward the right and a formalization of his alliance with the Monarchists. By last week-end the political pressures against him had already developed to the point where he was seeking the advice of President Einaudi as to whether resignation or an attempt at reshuffling the Cabinet seemed the more advisable course.

ONE YEAR TOO LATE

Time for Change Is Past . . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

HE COULD have done it in 1953, but this is a different year. A President whose chief political asset is his great personal popularity must use it while it is fresh. With the best intentions in the world President Eisenhower did not draw on it for a year. Now he has pledged his party to come up with a dynamic, forward-looking program on which it can stand in the coming elections, and the support for it just doesn't seem to be there.

The party's majority in Congress—paper-thin in one house and non-existent in the other—was not cajoled or driven to adopt such a program during the early days, while the echoes of the 1952 Eisenhower landslide were still sounding. Instead, the tough problems were ducked, and everyone was everybody's friend. For the really knotty problems, study groups were set up, to report with recommendations at some comfortably remote date. For the rest, Congress was allowed to write its own ticket.

An Administration which came in chanting that it was "time for a change" seems not to have reflected that without proper guidance from the home office most of the change was apt to go straight backward. Now Congress has reconvened, the elections approach, and it develops that the backward course is not likely to win many votes.

What can be done by expert public-relations work is of course being done. The pundits who last summer were periodically, and wistfully, announcing that the "true Eisenhower" was about to appear are now proclaiming the emergence of a "new" Eisenhower who will really take charge. The trouble is that things seem to have got out of control.

Nevertheless, the effort is being made. The tip-off was provided in a mid-December issue of the solid, conservative *Magazine of Wall Street,* which suggested that the party greatly needs a strong President and pointed out that the strength of the detested F. D. R. lay in the fact that even when he could not put his own program over he could always make people believe he was trying awfully hard. Skating near the thin edge of outright heresy, the *Magazine of Wall Street* suggested that Ike might take a leaf from Roosevelt's book.

Thus while he cannot possibly balance the budget, he can show that he is making an honest attempt—which, as the magazine points out, is all he ever really promised to do. He gets no credit for government economies because agency heads are forever taking a bow

BRUCE CATTON, a contributing editor, reports frequently on developments in Washington.

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for individual savings here and there: "no one capable of drawing a nation-wide audience has totaled all of the savings, impressed upon listeners, viewers, or readers what it means at this point, what it means in point of determined policy." The people, said the *Magazine of Wall Street* plaintively, still have confidence in Ike: "He could command a listening, patient audience."

WELL, it is being tried. There is, for instance, the effort to make drastic cuts in defense expenditures and still show that national defense is somehow stronger instead of weaker. (It is referred to locally, with regrettable lack of reverence, as the "more bang for a buck" program.) On the farm front, which is where the votes are visibly melting away day by day, there will very likely be a move to extend the present Democratic farm-aid program for another year—if indeed there is not an outright plunge for 100 per cent of parity all across the board.

Yet the difficulties are staggering. To produce a respectable program for the really vital issues—taxes, reciprocal trade, defense spending, social security, debt limitation, and so on—the Administration must rely on Democratic votes in both houses, especially in the Senate. But it is becoming apparent that the recent Brownell-Dewey blasts have solidified the Democratic representation, in a purely partisan sense, as nothing else has done since the early 1930's.

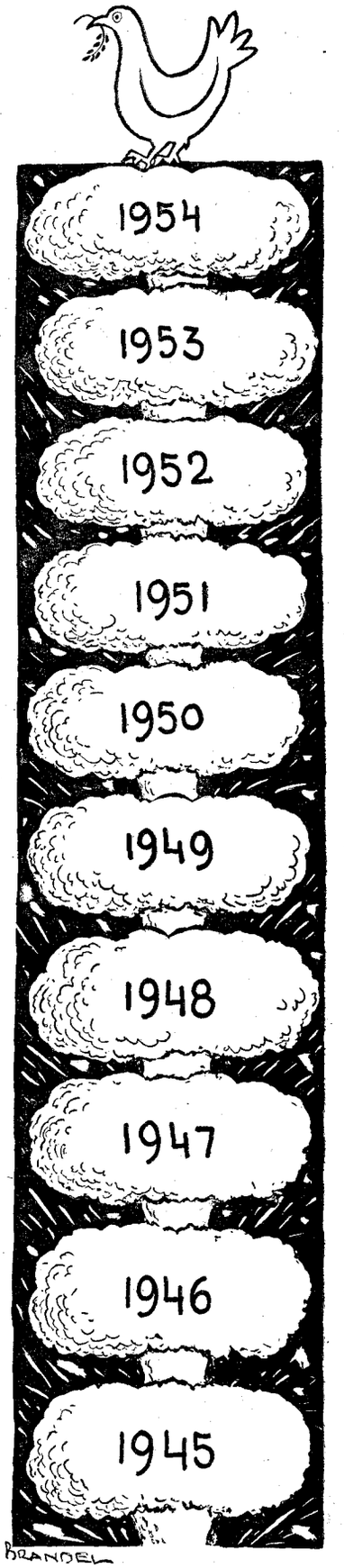
The difficulties which the Administration created for itself by deferring action on live-wire issues till the present session are abundantly illustrated by what has happened to the effort to amend the intricate network of social-security legislation. Last year Mrs. Hobby set up a group to make recommendations on this matter. The group finally came up with a fairly liberal plan which dropped into the inhospitable hands of Representative Dan Reed, head of the Ways and Means Committee, and consequently sank out of sight. The whole business was left for this session.

So now Representative Carl Curtis of Nebraska, chairman of the subcommittee on social security, has popped up with his own bill—a Townsend-type bill which would blanket in 3,000,000 additional recipients of old-age and survivors' insurance, raise minimums to $45 a month, and increase the annual cost of the operation by a sum which one group here has estimated at close to $2,700,000,000. It would freeze employer-employee contributions at the present level, and in effect would turn the entire program from an insurance scheme into a straight pay-as-you-go proposition. Except for its increased minimum payments this is in essence the United States Chamber of Commerce scheme. It offers a fantastic prospect—a social-security program to be paid for out of taxes, which inevitably would bear most heavily on the wealthy, supported by the spokesmen for great wealth and bitterly opposed by such supposedly left-wing groups as the great labor organizations.

What will finally come of Representative Curtis's little bill only the seventh son of a seventh son could tell, at this writing. But the fact that it is in the hopper, with an election year coming up, is an ominous sample of the difficulties raised by the postponement of difficult decisions from last year to this.

IT NEEDS to be emphasized that the bold new program which is to be fabricated in this session has got to come from a Congress which cannot for a minute forget about the elections. That means a relatively short session—probably six months at the most. The House will of necessity take numerous recesses during the spring, because of the primary elections; assuming that the session lasts six months, it will have much less than six months' working time. The time will be short and the pressure will be high, and all in all the public-relations boys had better stick around: they are going to be badly needed again along toward the middle of September.

Actually some of the most important items in the Administration's whole program are not primarily matters that Congress will grapple with, except indirectly. They will be taking shape—have been taking shape, during recent weeks and months—in the executive departments and agencies. There is public power, for example. The Administration has been moving about as fast as any Administration could to undo what the Democrats did in respect to public power. The R. E. A. program is being effectively throttled, largely by administrative action. The whole "yardstick" idea, by which public power projects serve as a visible measure for the rates charged by the private utilities, is similarly being dismantled in the Department of the Interior. The same department has retreated from such ventures as Hell's



Still Out of Reach

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Canyon and has been undermining the all-important preference clause in such important areas as the Missouri Basin. Power co-ops in the Southwest are facing outright liquidation.

Even T. V. A. is not secure. The President himself has referred to it as "creeping socialism." The Hoover commission to reorganize the government—which is not limited, as the earlier commission was, to simple recommendations on how to reorganize government agencies but is empowered to recommend policy changes as well—is thoroughly stacked with outspoken enemies of T. V. A. and other public power projects. It will not report till next year, after the coming elections are safely over, but the dynamic new program will eventually be profoundly affected by its proposals.

The point of all this is that the Eisenhower Administration's record for its first two years will not by any means be limited to legislation which this session of Congress may enact. Its record has been in the process of formation all along, and nothing this Congress does is likely to modify it very much. It shapes up, very simply, as government by and for big business, with extensive favors for the biggest corporate interests. It includes such things as putting a sworn enemy of public housing in charge of the government's housing program, inserting a McCarthy man in the Federal Communications Commission, putting high-tariff men on the Tariff Commission and believers in monopoly on the Federal Trade Commission. It reaches all the way down to the people's natural resources and the way they should be handled; it intrusts the important Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to a chairman who believes that Alexander Hamilton's views on the proper function of the federal government were much too radical. That is why the formulation of the fine new program by the "new Eisenhower" at this session of Congress is unlikely to be much more than an exercise in high-powered public relations.

This Administration has a program, one that is perfectly coherent—on most matters, at least—and explicit. The difficulty is that the mold has already set. This Congress can raise a debt limit, reduce taxes, continue deficit spending, try to reconcile defense cuts and improved defenses, and adopt such stop-gap measures in regard to other unavoidable issues as may seem politic. It cannot and will not change the important program—which, in the end, is what the Republican Party must take to the voters. That program is already in effect. The only trouble is that it does not look in a forward direction.

MINUTE WOMEN

Daughters of Vigilantism . . . *by Ralph S. O'Leary*

Houston, Texas

AT A meeting of the National Conference of Christians and Jews in Houston, a year ago, Dr. Arthur H. Compton, the distinguished physicist, was asked to comment upon charges then widespread in Houston that the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization was "subversive." A UNESCO delegate as early as the 1946 Paris meeting, Dr. Compton was visibly amazed. Finally he replied: "Something must be going on down here that I don't know about."

The charges are in fact one facet of a many-sided campaign of red-baiting which has agitated Houston for the past three years. There has been nothing like it since the days of the revival of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's. Strangely enough, though the professed object of the campaign is to drive out Communists, none of the victims have so far been Communists. Two persons running for the school board in November, 1952, were defeated by candidates who warned that UNESCO could so indoctrinate Houston teachers that they would teach their pupils to dislike the American way of life and become addicted to one-worldism. When a hundred clergymen signed a petition asking that an essay contest on the U. N. be reinstated in the schools—the contest had been held annually since League of Nation days until the board decided the U. N. was too "controversial" for immature students to think about—they were accused in the letters-to-the-editor column of a local newspaper of sanctioning polygamy. The reasoning of the letter writer, a woman, seemed to be that since a UNESCO booklet says polygamy is as widely accepted a way of life on this planet as monogamy, UNESCO favors polygamy. And since UNESCO is a branch of the U. N., the ministers who favor the U. N. must also—etc., etc.

Houston's citizens now shy away from anything "controversial" as from a deadly poison. People on whom the label is pinned are likely to lose their job and their friends. For example, Dr. George W. Ebey was dropped as deputy school superintendent for that reason, despite a high recommendation from his superintendent and a fine record as an air-force officer in World War II. Dr. Willard Goslin, ousted superintendent of schools in Pasadena, after being invited by the Chamber of Commerce to speak in Houston, was told the invitation had to be withdrawn. John Roy Carlson, the author, was refused permission to speak in one hall and forced to find another. It was reported that John T. Flynn had accused him years ago of having followed the Communist Party line while editing a small paper in Soviet Armenia, before the Russians took it over. All he could say was, "I've

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never been in Soviet Armenia, much less edited a newspaper there."

Dr. Rufus E. Clement, the respected Negro educator and president of Atlanta University, who was to speak on Race Relations Day in a white Houston church, was saved from having the engagement canceled by a testimonial to his patriotism from a leading legionnaire in his home town. A circular charged he had been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee as affiliated with seven Communist-front organizations. He declared that he had never heard of four of them and had withdrawn from the others as soon as he realized they had turned leftist.

CITATIONS from either the House committee or the Tenney committee of the California legislature have been pulled like rabbits out of a hat during the current hysteria. Even Dr. Compton got a taste of this technique after he had expressed surprise that anyone in Houston could consider UNESCO subversive. In a letter to the Houston *Chronicle* a woman wrote that Houstonians would no doubt be surprised themselves to learn that Dr. Compton had been cited by the House Un-American Activities Committee as having been affiliated with Communist-front organizations. She omitted to point out that the so-called "citation" consisted of unsworn statements, such as newspaper clippings, from the files of the committee and was not a formal finding. The letter writer accused Dr. Compton of having been affiliated with the Congress of Soviet-American Friendship, but a check of the files of the old Dies committee showed that the charge was based on a clipping from the Communist *Daily Worker* saying he had been one of the sponsors of a rally held by the Congress of Soviet-American Friendship in New York in 1943. This was when we were Russia's ally in the war and long before the congress fell into the bad graces of government investigating agencies. A few months earlier a letterhead of the same group had listed a number of prominent Americans as its sponsors, one being Jesse H. Jones, then Secretary of Commerce. Mr. Jones, by the way, is publisher of the Houston *Chronicle*.

In a recent speech about the incident Dr. Compton said that it was only with great difficulty and through the intercession of a friend that he was able to find out what the committee's files contained about him. It had evidently not been so hard, he said, for the woman who wrote to the paper to dig up the information. "What kind of organization does this mean?" he asked. What organization is "able to supply with such promptness information from Washington, strictly confidential and unusually difficult to obtain, to women in Houston? If you want evidence of a powerful private group of secret operators working in our country, there it is."

"Citations" from Washington and from the files of the Tenney committee were produced on a few days' notice to ban the speaking appearances in Houston of two New York educators—the late Dr. Edward C. Lindeman of the Columbia University School of Social Work and Dr. Ethel Alpenfels of the New York University faculty. Other citations were used against the American Friends Service Committee, which has held three institutes on international relations in Houston in the past three years. Each year the charges were patiently debunked by officials of the committee only to be repeated the next year.

SHOCKED BY the school board's dismissal of Dr. Ebey last July, the Houston *Post,* owned by W. P. Hobby, a former Texas governor, and his wife, Oveta Culp Hobby, a member of Eisenhower's Cabinet, assigned me to look into the matter. After an investigation lasting two and a half months the *Post* published a series of eleven articles. The chief points made in them were (1) that the overwhelming majority of Houston's more than 600,000 residents had taken no part in the red scare; (2) that the names of a comparatively small number of persons, not more than a few hundred, turned up again and again as active in the anti-Communist campaign; (3) that most of these were found to be members of a recently organized women's patriotic organization, the Houston Chapter of the Minute Women of the U. S. A.; (4) that a less active part had been played by a small number of American Legion members, by some members of the Committee for the Preservation of Methodism, and by a more informal group composed of remnants of the 1948 Dixiecrats.

The *Post* inquiry then centered on the

Minute Women. The peak membership of the Houston chapter appears to have been slightly more than 500, although a larger number has been claimed. The list was found to be top-heavy with the wives of wealthy residents of the exclusive suburb of River Oaks, but there was a leaven of elderly widows, boarding-house keepers, dressmakers, and operators of small specialty shops most of whom depended for their livelihood on the River Oaks trade. Among the members were the wives of some sixty physicians and surgeons and of about the same number of executives in the oil industry or allied businesses. There were a few wives of educators, a sprinkling of school teachers, and a fairly large representation from parent-teacher associations.

THE CHAPTER has no charter or by-laws and thus nothing can be presented at its meetings except matters decided upon beforehand by its officers. These are not elected but appointed. It has a very efficient system of communication. The officers give instructions to one woman, who relays them by telephone to five others. Each of these in turn relays them to five more, until the entire membership is informed. By this means meetings can be called in a few hours. And although the Minute Women deny ever doing so, it is possible to mobilize a strong telephone protest on short notice.

The organization has a strict rule that Minute Women are never to do anything as a group but always as individuals. Consider the effect of this. A politician usually operates on the theory that even when the general public is greatly aroused only a small percentage will take the trouble to telephone or write.

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He may toss into the wastebasket a protest from an organization with 500 members, but he will do quite a bit of thinking before he ignores letters from 500 individuals. In short, the Minute Women have improvised a simple formula for making a small minority of citizens appear to be a majority.

This shrewd setup did not originate in Houston. It was devised by Mrs. Suzanne Silvercruys Stevenson of Norwalk, Connecticut, who founded the organization of Minute Women in 1949. The daughter of the late Baron Silvercruys, one-time Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Belgium, Mrs. Stevenson is a naturalized United States citizen and a talented sculptress. Her brother is Belgian ambassador to the United States. The Houston chapter was started in 1951 and has become the most powerful in the country. On retiring as head of the organization in the fall of 1952 Mrs. Stevenson asserted that it had spread into forty-six states.

When Mrs. Stevenson came to Texas to talk to her Houston converts, she explained that the unusual setup was needed to keep the Communists, who had infiltrated even into garden clubs, from taking over the Minute Women. Apparently no one realized at the time that appointed officers and lack of parliamentary procedure could also effectively bar democracy. Friends of her group in Congress, she said, had been instructed by her to ignore communications from persons who signed themselves Minute Women, but, she pointed out, letters of members writing as individuals could not be distinguished from those written by the general public.

NATIONAL SECRETARY Mrs. Willard O. Hedrick, wife of an officer of a Houston oil-well supply firm, firmly denies that the Houston chapter has been anything but a study group enabling individual members to express their opinions on legislation. But certain facts stick out. One of the two anti-UNESCO candidates elected to the Houston school board in 1952 was the chairman of the Minute Women's speakers' bureau. The other was the husband of a Minute Woman. A Minute Woman was office manager of their campaign headquarters. No one knows now who brought about the cancelation of Dr. Goslin's scheduled appearance here. But it is reported that the Chamber of Commerce received thirty-four protests from individuals. Four Minute Women have been identified as members of a group which heckled one of the Quaker meetings held here.

A woman who helped distribute the circulars attacking Dr. Clement declared they had been mimeographed in the Minute Women headquarters. The Minute Women deny any part in the affair, but Mrs. Hedrick admits she had a copy of Dr. Clement's record in the files of the Un-American Activities Committee sent to her from Washington for her own "personal" satisfaction. The woman who wrote the letter to the editor attacking the 100 Houston clergymen for favoring the U. N. was one of the Minute Women who heckled the Quakers.

On Dr. Ebey's arrival in Houston from Portland to take his post, a group of twenty women appeared before the school board in protest. Two of their three leaders were Minute Women. The third denied she was a member, but her neighbors say she frequently tried to get them to join. Minute Women formed the first row of the audience the night the board decided to discharge Dr. Ebey and loudly cheered every statement against him. The board refused to reappoint him by a vote of four to three; it had been bombarded for days before with phone calls, letters, and telegrams.

When the *Post* series containing these and other bits of evidence came out, the Houston chapter of Minute Women charged it was being smeared by half-truths and falsehoods. Later, however, it published excerpts from a 1948 booklet of the United States Chamber of Commerce in what was apparently an attempt to justify just such action as the *Post* described. Mrs. Ross Biggers, chapter president, wrote the *Post*: "It could be said that the activities of individual Minute Women have followed the suggestions made by the national Chamber of Commerce." Mrs. Biggers, incidentally, is the daughter-in-law of the Houston printer who collected the money for the Cadillac sent Senator McCarthy as a wedding present.

Houston has long had a reputation as a reactionary city. But newspapers and magazines frequently mention developments in other cities that are much like what has been happening in Houston. It may be that other groups are working as invisibly as the Houston Minute Women were before the *Post* series. If they are, their communities should wake up and act before it is too late.

Chamber of Commerce Guide to Free Speech

In 1948 the United States Chamber of Commerce issued a booklet, "A Program for Community Anti-Communist Action," which according to the Minute Women of Houston, Texas, has served as a guide for many "patriotic individuals," including members of their own organization. Here is a condensed extract from the booklet:

. . . It is likely that some groups will nevertheless insist upon bringing in pro-Communist speakers. Their reasons may vary from a false notion of broad-mindedness to actual sympathy for the Communist position. When a known Communist sympathizer is to be brought into a community, the following steps should be taken:

1. The position of the speaker should be publicized in advance, through letters to the editor, etc.

2. Trained listeners should be prepared to ask questions after the lecture.

3. Letters should be written to local newspapers answering the speaker.

4. A summary of the incident, with clippings and other data, should be mailed to *Counterattack* and the *National Republic,* and to the House Un-American Activities Committee . . . to help other communities.

5. Service groups and other organizations should warn their national headquarters.

6. Letters of protest should be written to the [lecture] agency.

The best anti-Communist literature should be secured. This would include *Counterattack, Plain Talk* [now the *Freeman*—Ed.], and the *National Republic.*

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YUGOSLAV DISILLUSION

The Culprit Is Britain . . . *by G. E. R. Gedye*

Belgrade

UNTIL such time as the archives of the British Foreign office covering the last two years are made available to historians, the guiding principles of British policy toward Yugoslavia must remain incomprehensible. The bitter comment was heard last month in Trieste that the decision of October 8 to split the Free Territory and hand over Zone A to Italy at once was "the most noteworthy achievement of British diplomacy since Lord North lost the American colonies." This was certainly an exaggeration, but it remains true that the unhappy effects of that decision on British prestige will be felt for many years. When the people of Trieste staged a mock funeral of a corpse labeled "Trust in the West," more than an effigy was buried. With it was laid to rest a promising development in Yugoslav foreign policy—faith in Britain as an understanding friend who would bridge the gulf between the Yugoslav left-wing experiment and the old-established capitalist democracies.

America has suffered no great setback in this country. It has furnished material aid in the belief, as any Yugoslav appreciates, that it would pay dividends in increased resistance to Russian imperialism. Apart from that, it has acted with reserve verging on coldness. Nothing else was ever expected from the United States toward a country which has abolished private capitalism and prevents by a one-party dictatorship any effort to resuscitate it. This attitude was fully understood here and did not arouse much resentment; nor did the American tendency to sympathize with Italy, a country where social reforms are suppressed in the interest of the great landholders and industrialists.

The feeling toward Great Britain was very different. When Tito broke away from the Cominform, Yugoslavia endured seven or eight months of complete isolation, facing active or passive hostility from every direction. Almost at once it lost all its markets and its principal sources of supplies. The current five-year plan broke down; the industrialization program came to a standstill; the lack of rolling stock became acute. At the same time a severe drought intensified a shortage of foodstuffs which practically amounted to famine. And a barrage of threats laid down by the press and radio of the mighty Soviet Union and its satellites assailed the country day and night. The burden of it all, of course, was that Tito had sold out to the West and to "fascist imperialism." How completely untrue that was the starving Yugoslavs well knew; if Tito had "sold out" he certainly had not received even a loaf on account.

Marshal Tito

In this isolation and peril the greater part of the suppressed non-Communist opposition rallied to the dictator. "Until his replacement becomes practical politics," one figure of the old regime told me in 1949, "and until communism can be altogether overthrown, we prefer it made in Belgrade rather than in Moscow. If the Russians or the satellites invade, only the nationalized adherents of the Cominform will support them. The greater number of us anti-Titoists will fight—not for Tito but for Yugoslavia under his leadership. Afterward we shall see. But against any external foe we stand together." Now that this half-year's complete isolation has been successfully withstood, national self-esteem has risen as it did after the instant overthrow of the Yugoslav regents who signed Hitler's Tripartite Pact at Vienna in 1941 inaugurated the national defiance of the conqueror of Europe. "These people are impossible: they are still living in the heroic age," one irritated observer said to me the other day.

IN SEEKING to reorient his foreign policy after the break with the Cominform in 1948, Tito naturally looked first toward Britain, with its strong Labor government. Fortunately for the prospects of the West, Britain was represented in Yugoslavia by a diplomat of exceptional ability, Sir Charles Peake. The last person who could be suspected of sympathizing with Communist ideas, he seems to have grasped instantly that the relative strength of East and West might be completely changed by Russia's rounding on Yugoslavia. It is a question whether he or Tito displayed the greater skill in handling the thorny problem of how an anti-Cominform but Communist Yugoslavia could be fitted into the newborn system of defense against possible Russian aggression. Probably honors were even. Between them the task was so well accomplished that even when the Labor government was replaced by the Tories, Yugoslavia was confident that it could rely on the friendship of Britain. There followed the tremendously popular visits of Mr. Eden to this country and of Marshal Tito to London, and the attendance of the chief of the imperial general staff at the Yugoslav summer maneuvers. The change-over was managed without the Cominform ever getting an effective anti-Tito slogan out of it.

Then came the inexplicable action of

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October 8—the almost contemptuous intimation that the Anglo-American trustees appointed by the United Nations to administer Zone A had decided, without consulting the U. N., Yugoslavia, or Italy, to terminate their trust and hand over Zone A to Italy. The high-handed declaration that it had been decided to do exactly those things which Tito had said again and again Yugoslavia could never accept was more than wounding. It destroyed all the belief in British good faith that had so painstakingly been built up since 1948. Did London, and Washington, imagine that there could be any other reaction but a military one by Tito, in view of his Okroglica pronouncement of September 6? At that time he had said categorically, "I am telling Italy today, openly, before the entire world, 'You shall not occupy Zone A. We could not permit this to happen.'"

Despite the "normalization" on the frontiers, the deadlock continues. In his speech at Jajce on November 29, though he proposed the withdrawal of troops from the frontier, offered Italy sovereignty over the city of Trieste, and expressed yet again readiness to attend a conference if he was satisfied that it was not for the purpose of arranging a surrender of Zone A to Italy, Tito sounded a new note of deep suspicion of the West. He quoted Sir Winston Churchill's memoirs to establish that in 1945, had not the Yugoslav troops withdrawn from Trieste, "the Western armies would have used their guns against them," and charged that during the war the West agreed with the Soviet Union to split Yugoslavia into two spheres of influence. "But the Yugoslav people said, 'We demand 100 per cent for ourselves and nothing from you. Let that be a lesson not to try such things again.'"

YUGOSLAVIA is still, from a Western point of view, under a dictatorship, because only one party is tolerated. But it must be admitted that there have been a series of liberalizing moves which have made the Yugoslav experiment in "imposed socialism" something quite foreign to the systems of Soviet Russia and its satellites. At the recent elections, which I witnessed, the ballot was really secret, it did offer an opportunity to express disapproval of the regime, and there were a few, mostly hand-picked, alternative candidates.

In the field of economics and finance, as in that of politics, decentralization and "debureaucratization," have gone very far: the power of the party's central leadership has been diminished in many respects; "private initiative" has been recreated in the shape of genuine competition between concerns. True, there are recurrent campaigns against excessive "Westernization" and there are displays of "Communist vigilance." Press and radio are controlled by the Communist Party. Widespread criticism, however, is tolerated. Individuals express hostility to the regime with a freedom that would be unthinkable behind the Iron Curtain. One can only hope that the revulsion of feeling toward the West in matters of foreign policy will not reverse the liberalizing trend at home. The existence of this trend cannot be challenged, far as the Yugoslav system still is from our ideas of democratic liberty.

REVOLT AGAINST REASON

Basis of Book-Burning . . *by Martin Hall*

WHY does a civilized nation start burning books? Why does a people, literate for centuries, suddenly fear the possible outcome of free inquiry in its halls of learning? The question was raised in the first year of Hitler's regime when books were publicly burned as "un-German" and professors were dismissed from German universities, and it was never quite answered. It is raised again today as Congressional committees pry into the political beliefs of scholars, and most of those who refuse to answer lose their jobs. Senator McCarthy's purge of the contents of our State Department's overseas libraries has already spread to libraries at home.

The arguments of the purgers in America today are much like those used twenty years ago in Germany. The results seem to be the same. What about the motives?

Now as then the crusaders for conformity of thought have shown a peculiar enmity to, or at least suspicion of, culture. The first of the celebrated poets of the Third Reich, Hanns Johst, once said: "When I hear the word culture, I reach for my revolver!" Representative Velde, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, explained his vote against a proposed appropriation for mobile rural libraries by pointing out that education too widely spread has usually led to socialism. Hitler himself declared in 1923, ten years before he came to power: "We suffer from an excess of culture. Only knowledge is valued. What we need is instinct and will." In 1933, trying to justify the book-burnings, the Führer declared: "The so-called Age of Reason, stamped with its characteristic liberal outlook, with its half-knowledge and half-culture, was in a fair way to breed a thoroughly unfit generation."

Hitler created the enemy in the image of the "degenerate Bolshevik Jew." The McCarthys, Jenners, and Veldes have named him the "Communist conspirator." The Nazis had also the "non-Jewish admirers" who allegedly helped the "Jewish conspiracy"; our witch-hunters have the "fellow-travelers." It is always the liberal, the nonconformist, who is attacked.

The "enemy" has to be put outside

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the law and its protection. Dr. Goebbels in 1933 declared that "communism is the most acute and deadly peril facing the whole civilization of the West. Its elimination is not a political but rather a police question." In another speech he described the "political mask," the "insidious disguise of the poison of communism," as represented by "pacifist, internationalist, anti-religious, un-German, un-Nordic, liberal-democratic" attitudes. Except for the replacement of "un-German" and "un-Nordic" by "un-American," almost the same words are used today.

TO BE SURE, the famous Nazi book-burnings in May, 1933, were organized by the government. Rectors of the various universities presided over the ceremonies, and in Berlin, Propaganda Minister Goebbels announced the "end of the liberal era." American book-burners in 1953 have not enjoyed that kind of official blessing. Yet it was the United States Congress, or more exactly Senator McCarthy's subcommittee, probing into the shelves of the State Department's overseas libraries that started the ball rolling. The State Department, to please McCarthy, issued no fewer than six directives for banning books.

Among the books removed were Owen Lattimore's various books on Asia; the writings of Vera Micheles Dean, the Foreign Policy Association's executive director; "Mission to Moscow," by former United States Ambassador Joseph E. Davies; all the novels of Howard Fast, some by Albert Maltz, the "Selected Works" of Tom Paine, Langston Hughes's "Not Without Laughter," and some of Dashiell Hammett's well-known mystery stories.

It is interesting to note here that the American State Department outdid even the Nazis. Hitler's book-burners were careful to select only books whose content made them objectionable. For instance, they burned some of Thomas Mann's books but exempted others. American book-burners in 1953 burn books on the basis of the author's political behavior, not their content.

The official book-burnings were followed by others. Once the State Department had given the green light, local vigilantes took over in the form of self-appointed censorship committees. In many cases they exercise today a much more far-reaching censorship than any that a federal or state agency has yet contemplated.

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*

In Los Angeles a citizens' committee was formed in May, 1952, to examine books used in the Los Angeles County high schools. Twelve volunteers prepared "to peruse some 600,000 volumes, including the spacious works of Hegel, Marx, Nietzsche, John Dewey, and Bertrand Russell," as Matthew Josephson reported in *The Nation* on June 28, 1952. In April, 1953, an organization calling itself the "Minute Women," headed by the wife of the mayor, circulated a list of 600 books in the San Antonio, Texas, library with a demand that they be burned. A City Council resolution to this effect was eventually defeated. On this list were such works as Albert Einstein's "Theory of Relativity," Thomas Mann's "Magic Mountain," and even an edition of "Moby Dick" because it had been illustrated by Rockwell Kent!

In some instances it is the police who take over the role of censorship, as in Detroit, Michigan, where 200 books were listed as "objectionable," and in Youngstown, Ohio, where the police ordered the newsdealers to remove 400 books from sale. A proposed law in Ohio calls for pre-publication censorship of magazines, and in Texas no textbook can be purchased for use in any state school unless the author swears "he is not and never has been a member of the Communist Party and during the preceding five-year period has not belonged to any organization on the Attorney General's subversive list."

There has been gratifying opposition to this trend. The American Library Association's magnificent manifesto "The Freedom to Read," published June 25, 1953, will stand as a monument to the free spirit existing even in that year.

It is no mere coincidence that among the books banned today in the United States are many that were burned in 1933 by Hitler's storm-troopers. One would expect to find the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin among them, but consider the following titles twice committed to the pyre: Thomas Mann's "The Magic Mountain," Tom Paine's "Selected Works," Albert Ein-

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stein's "Theory of Relativity," Judge Ben Lindsay's books on marriage problems, Sigmund Freud's writings, Helen Keller's "Why I Became a Socialist," and John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook the World." There were many others.

WHERE BOOKS are feared, scholars are feared. Here the parallel between the two eras is even more obvious. While most of the teachers in German universities who were driven from their posts by the Nazis were Jews, a considerable number of non-Jewish professors and instructors were dismissed, arrested, driven to suicide, exiled, and some even murdered, merely for being pacifists, socialists, or just anthropologists who refused to accept the Nazi race theories. All in all, in the first three years of Hitler's regime some 1,500 members of German faculties were purged. Their names read like a roster of intellectual celebrities. Yet Max Weinreich, in a penetrating study, "Hitler's Professor," published in 1946 by the Yiddish Scientific Institute in New York, has proved beyond doubt that scores of recognized scholars supported this disgraceful purge—not, as many have assumed, just some unsuccessful Nazi aspirants for the professorships. Long before Hitler's day men like Professor Carl Schmitt had developed the theory of "friend-foe relations," in which he defined the foe as the "stranger," "the one who disagrees," with whom there can be no compromise. Philosophers of world repute, like Max Wundt in Tübingen and Heidegger in Freiburg, had also done their part in developing the Nazi philosophy.

We should remember that all German universities were state universities, and therefore a purge ordered by the state had to be carried out. It is probably for the same reason that the purges of our day have started generally in state universities and then spread to private colleges and universities. The first dismissals took place in 1948 at the University of Washington in Seattle, three professors being fired for admitted or alleged membership in the Communist Party. Dr. Allen, then president of the university—he was later rewarded with the Chancellorship of the University of California at Los Angeles—was the first to develop the familiar theory that no member of the Communist Party should be allowed to teach because by accepting the discipline of the party he had given up his intellectual integrity and now could only arrive at conclusions previously decided upon by the party. One of the three dismissed professors had been teaching for years the rather esoteric subject of Old English literature. Nobody bothered to explain to him what effect his party membership might have had on his interpretation of Beowulf. That was back in 1948. Today many teachers in universities and colleges and many high-school teachers have lost their jobs.

Of the eighty-two witnesses called before the Jenner committee, forty have been faculty members or employees of sixteen different universities. The others have been teachers in secondary schools. According to testimony before the committee by William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools of New York City, up to the date of the hearing on March 25, 1953, eighty-one teachers had been fired because they had refused to answer questions as to their political affiliations and 180 others were still under investigation.

Richard E. Combs, chief counsel of the California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities, testified before the Jenner committee on how his state was handling "subversion" in the schools. He declared that the presidents of all major California colleges cooperated with his committee and "together caused the removal of more than 100 faculty members of those universities between June, 1952, and March, 1953." Mr. Combs continued:

> In addition to that the committee deemed it expedient to indicate to the university administrators the necessity, particularly in the larger institutions, of employing full-time people who had practical experience in the field of counter-Communist activities, ex-F. B. I. agents and ex-navy and military intelligence men. That has been followed.

In its conclusions the Jenner committee is full of praise for this method of dotting the nation's campuses with spies and counter-spies.

Except for two men at Harvard and two others at Boston University, every academic witness called before the Jenner committee who has been "uncooperative" has lost his position. As Senator Jenner remarked,

> Our purpose is to protect and safeguard academic freedom. Academic freedom is under attack by a monstrous growth no individual or community of scholars can fight alone. Traders cannot operate in a free market if armed highwaymen constantly harass them from secret hide-outs on the public roads. The free market of ideas cannot function if hidden conspirators are waiting at every vantage point to attack and to destroy the loyal people who are going quietly about the business of teaching our youth to the best of their ability.

There has been less opposition on the part of faculties to this distortion of academic freedom than one might have hoped for. A recent meeting of students of various universities at Chicago University for a discussion of academic freedom (reported in *The Nation* of August 22, 1953) leads us to believe that student bodies would react differently than they did in Hitler's Germany. There the students with a very few heroic exceptions supported the Nazi drive for conformity. Perhaps here the democratic tradition of America will be strong enough to encourage the kind of principled opposition that alone can win the fight against the witch hunt.

THIS IS NOT the place to analyze the basic reasons for the repetition of book-burnings and faculty purges. We are living in a crisis of society such as Germany experienced in the late twenties. Fear and insecurity are prevalent, and the temptation is great to overcome them by a new "safe" orthodoxy. The dangerous idea is spreading that under such conditions there must be a showdown with the "enemy," the home front must be secured at all costs.

Thomas Mann, winner of the Nobel Prize for literature, has seen his books burned twice in his lifetime, once in the country from which he exiled himself to find a free haven in the America of Franklin Roosevelt, and now again in McCarthy's America. He has not expressed himself on the book-burnings here, but in 1937 he wrote of the purpose of Hitler's onslaught on cultural freedom:

> It is to put the German people in readiness for the "coming war" by ruthless repression, elimination, extirpation of every stirring of opposition, to make them an instrument of war, infinitely compliant, without a single critical thought, driven by a blind and fanatical ignorance.

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BOOKS

Giving Away the Atom

REPORT ON THE ATOM. By Gordon Dean. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

By Leland Olds

GORDON DEAN'S "Report on the Atom" should be read for its popular description of progress in the atomic age rather than for its conclusions on atomic policy now before Congress. For the very picture he creates of what the people's investment has accomplished and of the magnitude of what is still ahead provides the most convincing refutation of his conclusion that future development of atomic power should be opened to private enterprise.

This book by the former chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission affords a glimpse of the background thinking for the changes in the Atomic Energy Act that will be proposed by the commission to Congress shortly after it reconvenes in January. For that reason the author's attempt to justify jumping the gun on the requirements of Section 7(b) of the act is significant. This section calls for such recommendations only when the development of atomic power has been brought to the practical stage and then only after a report on its social implications.

Dean passes off the proposed short-cutting of this Congressional safeguard by accusing the Congress which passed the great McMahon Atomic Energy Act of "naivete." He says: "It is now fairly clear, I think, although it wasn't then, that economically feasible power from the atom will not come suddenly but rather will follow the gradual advance of technology." He then proceeds to show who is really naive. For after conceding that "it is now too early to attempt to rewrite the entire existing law" and that "we have, therefore, no way of knowing exactly what will ultimately be needed in the way of a new law," he proposes "interim legislation" to permit, among other things, groups other than the commission to own nuclear-power facilities, to lease, own, and transfer nuclear fuel, and to obtain patents on a more liberal basis.

This interim legislation would also authorize specific research and development work in the commission's laboratories which would be of benefit to power developments by these outside groups.

THESE PROPOSALS, in effect, would authorize turning over the great new power resource, brought into being by billions of risk capital put up by the American people as a whole, to private enterprise. That is the purpose. Therefore Dean and the Atomic Energy Commission are recommending that Congress dodge the clear intent of the Atomic Energy Act by calling the give-away an "interim" give-away.

Is the author so naive as to expect the American people to believe that this interim give-away could ever be reversed short of taking over the entire electric-power industry? Or does he reflect something less excusable, a deliberate attempt of private-power interests to mislead the people, who are still ill-informed on the entire issue?

Although the Atomic Energy Commission's recommendations, as presented by Dean, do not refer specifically to private enterprise, there is no doubt what is meant. In his own words, "Private enterprise must be permitted to enter the picture." He thinks this important "not only because of the contribution that free competition can make to technological advancement but also because it is only in a free market that the atom can demonstrate beyond doubt that it is economically feasible."

Here again he is either naive or he is asking the people to accept the myth that they will get free, cost-cutting competition by turning their atomic resource over to an industry saturated with monoply. The electric utilities themselves are monopolies untroubled by competitive cost standards. As for electric-equipment companies, they have shown little interest in cutting the cost of their product except where government-backed competition has entered the field.

It took the Rural Electrification Administration and the Tennessee Valley Authority to show that rural lines did not have to cost $2,000 a mile and that meters and farm electric appliances could be materially cheaper. It took the Bonneville Power Administration to show the way to reductions in cost of electric-transmission equipment.

Dean says he does "not mean to enter into the public-versus-private-power controversy." He would "dislike seeing a municipally owned utility excluded from owning and operating a reactor" as much as he would "dislike seeing a privately owned utility excluded." He holds that the rules should be "designed to accommodate anyone who has a desire to enter the field coupled with a real contribution to make."

This is his third venture into the field of naivete, for there are only two or three municipal power systems in the country which by the wildest stretch of the imagination could be expected to enter the atomic-power picture. The vast majority of municipal plants and all rural electric cooperatives would be screened out by the very magnitude of the power stations required.

The author's own analysis has already made this clear. Just about ten pages before his avowal of impartiality he has said: "A small reactor producing 10,000 kilowatts of electric energy might be built today for $10,000,000 and produce electricity for 50 mills (5¢) per kilowatt-hour. But a reactor costing only six times as much might be expected to produce about twenty-five times as much energy at 8 mills (4/5ths of a cent) per kilowatt-hour." In other words, feasible atomic power is a matter of power supply for large transmission "grids" capable of using single electric-generating stations of a quarter of a million kilowatts' capacity or more. So if the author's concern with allowing municipal and rural systems to share in this new source of energy is sincere, he must support federal development of atomic power for all communities choosing to distribute electricity on a public or cooperative basis. This would be in line with the policy of developing hydroelectric power as part of federal river-basin programs.

But there is an even more significant

LELAND OLDS was a member of the Federal Power Commission for ten years during the Roosevelt administrations—nearly half that time as chairman.

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aspect of Dean's statement that a 250,000-kilowatt reactor might be built today for $60,000,000 to produce electricity for 8 mills per kilowatt-hour of electric energy. For 8-mill electricity is already competitive in parts of the country—for example, in New England, where systems like the Boston Edison Company are selling steam-generated power at wholesale to other utilities for more than 9 mills and the New England Power Company quotes 12 mills as its lowest rate for large industrial use. If this means that we are actually right on the verge of economically feasible atomic power, a serious question is raised. Is the information being kept from all except the big participating corporations until the people's representatives have voted to turn the resource over to private development under the false impression that this will somehow hasten the day of atomic power?

The real outlook behind the commission's give-away recommendations is revealed in the author's unequivocal statement that "the commission should never be in the atomic-power business in the sense of building and operating large power reactors for the sale of electricity to consumers." In other words, Dean is saying that the people, having put up the money for the development, should never get the advantage of the low-cost power which their continued ownership of the power plants would make possible. At the same time he holds that the government should go right on risking the experimental money necessary to "create the technological climate needed" for private enterprise in the field. One may well ask whether our private-enterprise economy has reached the point where the government must wet-nurse it with risk capital.

DEAN'S REPORT starts out as an ABC of atomic development, revealing in simple terms the miracle of basic research and applied science made possible by the people's huge investment in the program. He traces a ton of uranium ore, which the commission will buy "even though it contains only two pounds of uranium," through *giant crushing machines* which reduce the ore to particles as small as the finest grains of sand, an *industrial inferno* where it is roasted with salt at up to 1,000 degrees Fahrenheit, then percolated with water, dissolved in acid, heated, reheated, dissolved, redissolved, dried and redried, a *feed-materials processing center* where it reenters the world of burning acid, then proceeds through chemical baths, and still is only on the road to becoming fissionable Uranium-235 or fissionable plutonium.

Dean describes the transmutation of uranium metal to plutonium in the nuclear reactor as a process unique in industry, differing from an ordinary chemical reaction in that it involves, "not such large particles of matter as molecules or the outer shells of atoms, but rather the hard, unimaginably minute inner core of an atom known as its nucleus, about which the outer particles revolve as planets around the sun." It involves particles "so small that more than a hundred million of them would not make a speck big enough for the human eye to see."

This is the field of neutron bullets and the chain reaction. There follows the chemical problem of separating the plutonium from uranium, when the metal is so intensely radioactive that everything must be done "by remote control behind great lead and concrete barriers." Out of it all comes just a fraction of an ounce of plutonium for each original ton of uranium ore.

Dean's description of the other line, leading to fissionable Uranium-235, arouses no less amazement at what the mind has wrought. Here man must separate atoms which are identical chemically, differing from each other only slightly in mass or weight. To accomplish this scientists first tried shooting a stream of electrically charged molecules past a giant magnet. They then turned to the "gaseous-diffusion" process, in which uranium in gaseous form is pumped through thousands of barriers or sieves with holes less than one two-billionth of an inch in diameter. According to the author, operation of the thousands of pumps in the Oak Ridge diffusion plant, or its sister plants at Portsmouth and Paducah, requires as much electric power each day as New York City.

Everyone should read these chapters dealing with the beginnings of the new atomic chemistry, the atomic age, to get a sense of the extraordinary range of the mind's activities and the enormous forces which it releases. The very devising of the processes through which miraculous transformations are achieved might well become a dangerous form of black magic if controlled by selfish motives.

The author then gives a brief review of the various steps in the development of reactors using this new energy resource toward the achievement of commercial electric power: the Hanford production reactors appreciably heating the entire Columbia River with wasted energy; the experimental breeder reactor in Idaho, first in the world to generate electricity; the homogeneous reactor at Oak Ridge, second producer of useful electricity; the prototype submarine reactor already operating in Idaho; and the large ship reactor, which of all the reactors that have been built or are now under active development will come closest to what will be needed in central-station electric plants.

He likens the current state of atomic-power development to the situation in the oil industry when the first diesel engine went into a submarine. He says, "The principle of atomic power has been proved; all that remains is to cut the costs."

ALTOGETHER Dean gives the reader an insight into the extraordinary achievements of public investment in the development of this new energy resource and of what the Atomic Energy Commission recommendations would give away. In the words of Representative Chet Holifield of California, member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, it is as if the government had discovered a great oil field on public land and had drilled wells down thousands of feet to within fifty feet of tapping the immensely valuable oil reserves. Then private interests come along and say, "Just let us own the spigots at the top of the wells and market the oil on a private profit basis and we'll drill the last fifty feet."

Under Dean's proposals, which are also those of the Atomic Energy Commission, the private interests would even be allowed to get patents on the spigots, that is, on improvements in the facilities. In effect, this would enable private companies to put padlocks on the entire chain of invention. Everyone, including the government, would have to pay toll for their use.

And who would these favored interests be? From Dean's book we get the

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answer. In his words, "With few exceptions, knowledge and experience in the reactor field are concentrated in such concerns as General Electric, Westinghouse, Union Carbide, and duPont, which, whatever their motives, whether patriotic or selfish or both, secured a 'foot within the door' by undertaking reactor-development contracts with the government."

THE LENGTH of this review does not permit reference to the author's treatment of the military aspect of the atom or of the developmental work going forward in other countries, including Russia. But it would be incomplete without a glance at his account of what will probably be the most revolutionary result of the people's investment of "risk capital" in the atomic field—providing the scientist with those marvelous tools of research called radio-isotopes (radioactive particles). Describing this as perhaps the happiest chapter in the story of the atom, he recounts the contributions it may make to treating the sick, increasing the productivity of crops and livestock, improving manufacturing, and increasing the knowledge of the physical world.

Turning to the possibility of cracking the secret of photosynthesis, source of all our food, coal, and oil, he says that if investigators succeed in synthesizing all the compounds derived from this natural process, "it may well be possible to synthesize foods and fuels from elements and energy." He concludes that "this single accomplishment might well change conditions of human existence more drastically than all the work in the field of nuclear-powered ships, airplanes, and electric generators."

Finally, the author gives us a glimpse of the vast research that is a part of the atomic program. He points out that nuclear physics is still a realm of the unknown, that we have not yet really smashed atoms but have merely chipped them, and that the machines with which man explores the inner universe of the atom are very costly, so that "the government must foot the largest share of the bill to construct and operate them."

On this note I will leave you to the book itself, for this suggests that the atomic field is not a field for private enterprise but for the great investment power of the people as a whole, acting through their government.

Which Way Southeast Asia?

SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE COMING WORLD. Edited by Philip W. Thayer. The Johns Hopkins Press. $4.75.

By W. Macmahon Ball

PERHAPS the most interesting feature of this symposium is that it brings out so clearly the contrast between the ways in which American officials and American scholars write about Southeast Asia. In the first chapter John Allison, now American ambassador to Japan, puts virility and emotion into his presentation of the official view. In the next few chapters a group of scholars quietly and patiently set to work to demolish it.

Mr. Allison is deeply concerned to rebut the charge that American foreign policy treats Asians as "second-class expendables." The record, he argues, shows this to be a malicious falsehood. The United States, "under the energetic and imaginative leadership of John Foster Dulles," has made the Japanese completely free. In Korea the United States has poured out its blood and treasure to save Asians from coming under Communist slavery. In Formosa and the Philippines it is spending hundreds of millions of dollars to protect freedom and independence. In Indo-China it is contributing one-third of the cost of military operations against the Viet Minh, and has sent military missions to help train and equip the armies of the Associated States under French command. "Would these more than 100,000 American casualties and billions of American dollars be sacrificed for people whom we considered 'second-class expendables'? I think not." Mr. Allison sums up by insisting that while war is the second greatest threat to civilization, the spread of communism is the first.

Then come the scholars. Professor

W. MACMAHON BALL, professor of political science at the University of Melbourne, is the author of "Japan: Enemy or Ally?" He is a contributing editor of The Nation.

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Paul Clyde drily observes that "American international friendships in Asia have not been notable for their continuity, and this is perhaps not surprising since they have been founded in the heart rather than in the mind." Americans have generally been too ready to assume that what was good for them was good for Asia and welcome to Asians. Professor George McT. Kahin discerns two phases in the post-war policy of the United States toward Southeast Asia. Until about the middle of 1949 it temporized with the non-Communist nationalist movements in Indonesia and Indo-China. Its main concern was the possibility of Communist victories in Western Europe, and it was therefore reluctant to encourage independence movements which might embarrass the governments in Holland and France. But during 1949 the official American attitude changed. Washington put pressure on Holland to make major concessions to Indonesian nationalism and on France to seek the active support of the non-Communist groups in Indo-China by giving the Associated States a measure of independence. One reason for this change was the recognition that Holland and France were only weakening their own positions in Europe by trying to achieve clear-cut military solutions in East Asia; the other, and more urgent, reason was that the victory of communism in China demanded positive political resistance in East Asia. In Professor Kahin's view, therefore, America's present policy is shaped by strategic rather than moral considerations.

Dr. Rupert Emerson warns that none of the three overwhelming convictions shaping American policy finds full acceptance in Southeast Asia. The United States is convinced that the whole non-Communist world is immediately threatened by communism—by external assault or domestic revolution; that the choice is between freedom and slavery, prosperity and misery, day and night; that therefore East Asia must choose between American leadership and Communist leadership, with no middle way. But many East Asians doubt that communism is the greatest and nearest menace. They suspect that war or poverty or colonialism may be as bad or worse. They have experienced these evils but not yet experienced Communist rule. And they hope that the world is rather more loose-jointed than America believes, and that it may still be possible to avoid irrevocable commitment to either of the two great blocs. Cooperation with the U. N. appeals more than alliance with the United States.

If the scholars in this symposium give a correct account of the political mood in East Asia, then the official views need to be reexamined. The difference is not over ultimate aims but over methods. The officials tend to emphasize the righteousness and reasonableness of American aims and to lament the failure of East Asians to appreciate American idealism. The scholars generally accept the aims but doubt whether the methods now followed are likely to achieve them. They quietly suggest that these methods must be adapted to actual circumstances if they are to succeed; that, in particular, dollars and guns and education programs will be wasted unless they work with, not against, the contemporary political movements for national independence and social welfare.

There is no reason why officials should be less intelligent than scholars, but many reasons why they should, with due deliberation, appear to be less intelligent. They must consider domestic realities as well as foreign realities. The picture they give of how other nations feel and act must not depart too far from the way their uninformed domestic supporters feel they should feel and act, or be made to feel and act. The reader of this book will be glad that there are still scholars prepared to describe the position in East Asia as they see it, uncolored by the political expediencies that haunt the officials.

New Books in Brief

Failure in the Middle East

SEVEN FALLEN PILLARS. The Middle East, 1945-1952. By Jon Kimche. Praeger. $4.50.

A gripping account of the dismal failure of British Middle Eastern policies, and to a lesser extent American, since the end of the war. According to Mr. Kimche, this failure was primarily due to refusal to adapt time-worn imperialist strategies to new realities—the growth of Soviet power, the rise of Arab nationalism, and the firm establishment of Zionism. Seeking to placate the Arabs, the British government betrayed the Jews and found itself hated and despised by both sides. Though they recognized the urgent need for social and economic reform, Britons and Americans alike continued to lean on ruling cliques of great landowners to whom reform was anathema.

The core of this book is the story of the rise of a new nation, Israel, but in describing its birth pangs the author covers a lot of territory from Libya to Persia, from Turkey to the Sudan, with side trips to London, Washington, and the U. N. He discusses in detail the politics of oil and the problems of land reform. Mr. Kimche has spent years in the Middle East as roving correspondent for Reuter's. An extremely competent newspaperman, he reports the facts as he sees them, not caring whose ox is gored, and as a result has been variously accused of being a British agent, a Jewish spy, and an Arab propagandist. Occasionally his professional cockiness becomes a little irritating, but his unpopularity with British officialdom appears to be due less to his manner than to his annoying habit of making unpleasing predictions that often prove all too accurate.

New England Folk Songs

BALLADS MIGRANT IN NEW ENGLAND. By the Collectors Helen Hartness Flanders and Marguerite Olney. Farrar, Straus and Young. $6.

Continuing their survey of regional New England folklore, Mrs. Flanders and Miss Olney have produced an illuminating and refreshing book, free from the stuffiness that often afflicts even an unscholarly subject like folk song.

Since the early British settlers in New England brought the culture with them upon which much of our folklore and folk song are based, the songs in this book are mainly of British origin. But about this core New Englanders have developed many fascinating songs indigenous to the region. It is to the credit of the collectors that they did not publish the same old hackneyed versions of the most familiar of these songs.

There is much to recommend this

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book: the fascinating data on the folk singer George Edwards, neglected except for a few isolated recordings; the numerous tunes; and the happy manner in which the collectors have gone about their job.

Bricklayer of Westminster

BEN JONSON OF WESTMINSTER. By Marchette Chute. Dutton. $5.

In the north aisle of the nave of Westminster Abbey a guide used to show visitors the marble square which marks Ben Jonson's grave, explaining that Ben was a local boy, a bricklayer, and a real fighting man: they buried him standing up with his fists out. Like most legends, this one mixes false and true. Jonson was indeed a Westminster bricklayer's apprentice and saw service in the Low Countries as a conscript. The vertical burial is also a fact, as some Abbey workers discovered in the nineteenth century. But the business of the fighter's stance is probably windy speculation.

Like her excellent biographies of Chaucer and Shakespeare, Miss Chute's critical life of Jonson avoids windy speculation like an Elizabethan plague, sticks admirably to the checkable facts, and achieves a clear, cogent, and moderately entertaining prose style. The result is a good book, but not nearly so good a book as its predecessors. For one thing, the biographical facts are sparse, so that background material tends to usurp the rightful place of the sturdy figure in the foreground. For another, though Jonson was extrinsically a man of power who rose from the lower classes to the higher classicism, he is not intrinsically so fascinating a figure as Chaucer or Shakespeare. Miss Chute's method, inherently so valuable, seems partially to defeat itself when it is turned on any but the most supreme geniuses. And Jonson, despite his unquestionable skills in the art of play-building, never quite reaches the ultimate supremacy.

Boys' School

SCOTLAND'S BURNING. By Nathaniel Burt. Little, Brown. $3.50.

A sensitive and perceptive study of evil, fear, and responsibility. The scene is a boys' school; the evil is embodied in the narrator's roommate; the fear is in the narrator, who lacks the courage to stand up for what he knows is right and against what he knows is wrong and who must learn the hard way the lesson of individual responsibility. A first novel of real talent—well written, well conceived, and wholly credible.

Films

Manny Farber

THE past movie year will probably be generally remembered as the one in which three-dimensional gimmicks—multiple sound tracks, polaroid glasses, masking, wide curved screens, and other flashes in the panoramic craze—just about displaced the importance of content and quality. For me 1953 was the year in which Hollywood almost lost me as an irritable non-paying customer. The simple reason for my disaffection with H-movies—I ceased to be a foreign-movie fan when foreign films became so pretentiously unpretentious—is that there were few pictures last year in which the "human element" wasn't swallowed up by production values. In this era of hard, tight-semi-documentaries embroidered with fancying-up touches that seem controlled almost to rigidity, only an occasional "Roman Holiday" turns up with enough individual flourish to make one interested in any craftsmen but the lead actors.

Wherever you look today, you find the movie artist subordinating himself in order to glorify a mechanical process. There was the wildly energetic dance scene in "Moulin Rouge" in which the speed, grouping, and rhythm of the dancers seemed indebted to the piston and lever. Even in "Shane" you found gimmicky stuff going on in every frame: the hero's name was repeated so often in affected voices that it was like listening to a bird in a clock which instead of saying "Cuck-oo" gave out with a metallic nasal "Shane!" In Disney's "Living Desert" actual mud puddles in the Salton Sea were made to burp,

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writhe, turn themselves inside out, and even spit in time to classical music by means of mechanical tricks.

Mechanization of the artist has become the rage in other arts besides movies. In juke-box ballad-singing tiny voices like those of Como and Joni James are stretched, made earthy, sometimes even doubled and tripled, by the use of sound boxes and tape recorders. The most talked-of realistic painter—Wyath—does a surrealistically touched-up imitation of the camera image. Most of the important American abstractionists drip, scrub, or bleed paint on to canvas with an impersonal skill that makes it hard to believe human hands had anything to do with the painting. But it is particularly irritating to find movie artists over-indulging in mechanical tricks because the medium is so dependent on the immediate kinship set up between spectator and characters. How do you connect with the people in a movie like "From Here to Eternity" if their very brains and emotions seem ensnared in the delicate camera contortions that fuzz up the surface of a Zinnemann-directed film?

THIS DEPARTMENT saw nothing last year that deserved a Best Film award. Here, but not in any preferential order, are the seven films that gave me the most pleasure:

First there was Alfred Hitchcock's "I Confess," a suspense yarn with too much talk and some polished semi-documentary photography (by Robert Burks) that was too obviously chopped up with symbols and oddly arranged angles for my taste. However, it had the most interesting acting of the year—by Anne Baxter, Roger Dann, and particularly Clift, involved in a methodically directed murder story in which the chief suspect is a young priest. Clift won the year's acting award for his ability to project states of mind and feeling with a kind of repressed toughness that became too obvious in the "Eternity" film. The movie was also noteworthy for the skill with which Hitchcock exposed the raveling out of a romance without wasting a motion, moving from the most romantic movie styling to the uncolored quality of a police report.

Next there was "The Young Wives' Tale," a domestic comedy that seemed to have a screw loose and featured Joan Greenwood, the woman with a fog-horn voice and the manner of a slightly drowsy, kittenish narcissist. It was a fresh little British movie that gave you the sense of all hell breaking loose in a two-family house, while Miss Greenwood, a rather gawky Audrey Hepburn, and some others had fun in the manner of unregulated acting virtuosos.

The next three spots go to three substanceless Hollywood movies—"I Love Melvin," "Inferno," and "The Big Heat"—that seemed to be perfect second features on neighborhood double bills. "Melvin" was the only musical I saw that had any genuine liveliness or youthfulness in its choreography; "Inferno" used the Robinson Crusoe technique of dreaming up realistic details to draw you along on a fantastic journey and was more fun to watch than any of the American comedies. "The Big Heat" was excitingly acted by Glenn Ford and Lee Marvin—in spite of the lush décor and sentimental writing.

Sixth, George Stevens's "Shane," though it often seemed ridiculously arty and slow as its precise director attempted to give ballad-like stature to the ordinary ingredients of a cowboy story. But it is a movie that takes its own measured, deliberate time finding ways to increase your pleasure. Its key method was to provide an endless number of visual treats through the color photography of Loyal Grigg, who seems to have a genius for dramatizing moody stuff like the approaching shadow of a rain storm or the eerie night light on a porch. Unfortunately the spectator had to put up with some unbelievable fights, the over-aged-child acting of Brandon De Wilde Palance's phony cowboy costume, and the nasal delivery of Jean Arthur.

Seventh, William Wyler's "Roman Holiday," a completely pleasing comic travelogue that seemed close to the first Garson Kanin comedies in its ability to inject heart and zip into zany human situations. It starred a rather cold and facile actress who turns on charm with a kind of trade-marked affectation. On the credit side it sported a clever rebelling-princess script, the tough stooge acting of Eddie Albert, good Cary Grant-type mugging by Gregory Peck, and direction that was masterful in its ability to manufacture small humorous details to delay the cliché twist in each segment of the story.

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My honorable-mention list includes "The Man Between," "The Naked Spur," "Jeopardy" (for the tension-heightening direction of John Sturges), "Stalag 17," "Bellissima" (Magnani was the year's best actress), Martin and Lewis's "The Stooge," "Blowing Wild," "The Moon Is Blue," "Split Second" (an unusually good performance by Stephen McNally), and "Sky Full of Moon." In the worst-film category, "I, the Jury," "From Mainstreet to Broadway," and "Return to Paradise" were tied.

Records

B. H. Haggin

AN IDEA one has been hearing in recent years is that Toscanini can conduct orchestras but cannot create them. My recollection is that Roland Gelatt said this in "Music Makers"; and in "Worlds of Music" (which I will say more about one of these days) Cecil Smith writes that "to [Mengelberg] rather than to Toscanini, who has never been a great orchestra-builder, goes the chief credit for the breathtaking swiftness with which the [New York Philharmonic] was transformed into one of the great [ensembles] of the world." Smith adds that "Mengelberg's extraordinary ability as a technical disciplinarian was equaled by his gifts as an interpreter. In the years since his departure the orchestra may never have surpassed some of its performances under him, memorably of Strauss's 'Ein Heldenleben' and Liszt's 'Les Preludes' "—revealing in this statement a level of taste and judgment which accounts in part for the errors in his first statement. I was a witness, at the daily rehearsals, of the basic training Mengelberg gave the Philharmonic from 1921 until the coming of Toscanini in 1926; but it was Toscanini who then transformed it into an instrument with the dazzling virtuosity and tonal beauty that put it into the class of Stokowski's Philadelphia and Koussevitzky's Boston Symphony; and one heard that instrument only when Toscanini conducted it, never when Mengelberg did.

And one can ask the Gelatts and Smiths who they think created the NBC Symphony that plays with the dazzling virtuosity and tonal beauty one hears at Toscanini's broadcast concerts in Carnegie Hall today. Who, for example, taught the players of the brass instruments to produce that astounding integrated sound of the entire brass section that is plastically shaped and sensitively inflected like the sound of one instrument?

The playing of the orchestra has been one thing to marvel at in Toscanini's recent concerts; another has been his wonderfully clarified performances of Strauss's "Don Quixote," Berlioz's "Harold in Italy," and Beethoven's "Eroica," and a performance of Beethoven's "Coriolan" Overture with breadth and distentions that gave it a power beyond any I recall. And in the "Don Quixote" there was the playing of the orchestra's great solo cellist, Frank Miller, remarkable in the tensile strength of the tone, the cohesive tension of the phrasing; in this work and the "Harold" the beautiful playing of the orchestra's solo viola, Carlton Cooley.

As it happens a London record offers a performance of "Don Quixote" by Clemens Krauss with the Vienna Philharmonic and Pierre Fournier. Careful balance in the performance and clarity in the reproduction enable one to hear an extraordinary amount of the amusing detail woven into the dense texture of Strauss's finest work; but the performance presents this detail in a slow-moving progression without energy and inner cohesiveness in which not only Fournier lingers too long over his part but even the solo viola fusses with the phrases of Sancho Panza.

And as it happens both Urania and RCA Victor offer performances of the "Eroica" by Furtwängler with the Vienna Philharmonic. The Victor performance is the more self-indulgent in the characteristic Furtwängler excesses of tempo and change of tempos—in its over-deliberate pace for the first movement the scherzo, the statement of the theme in the finale; its enormous slowing down for the new E minor theme in the development and again for the crescendo leading to the recapitulation, in the first movement; its much slower pace for the second fugal episode than for the first, in the finale; etc. Nor is it merely that the Urania performance is reproduced a half-tone too high in pitch: this does speed it up a bit, but it is actually more animated to begin with. However the Urania performance has the same slowing down in the development of the first movement and similar details elsewhere that make it, for me, a playing with the work rather than of it, and something I have no interest in. The Urania performance is better reproduced, though with high-frequency distortion in the fugal section of the second movement; and because of the slower tempos this movement is broken on the Victor record.

At a concert of the Concert Society of New York the Virtuosi di Roma led by Renato Fasano played a number of works by Vivaldi—a Concerto in D minor for oboe, a Concerto in D major for viola d'amore, a Concerto in A for strings, and the group of concerti "The Four Seasons" for violin obbligato and strings—which held one enthralled with their loveliness and variety and with the beauty of the performances. The accompanying strings played with a refinement of execution, tone, and phrasing that indicated they were in fact of the same virtuoso caliber as the men who stepped out to play the solo parts.

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Letters

A Swiss-Pattern Korea

Dear Sirs: Thinking about the Korean problem, it occurs to me that the only solution is to reorganize the country on the Swiss pattern, letting each "canton" have its own social system and its own assemblies. There would be a federal council composed of seven members, the President of the country being rotated from its membership. Trade between north and south would be free and unhampered, and the armed forces of both would be reduced to a minimal internal-security force. The country's neutrality should be guaranteed by the East and the West in perpetuity.

Seattle, Wash. O. M. BRATRUD

Triple Misfortune

Dear Sirs: Six years ago a newly widowed woman working on a Southern plantation in Georgia refused the advances of a white neighbor, who then pounded her with his gun. Her screams brought her fifteen-year-old son to her aid. His pleas to the assailant going unheeded, the boy seized the gun and in the mêlée the man was killed.

The mother telephoned the sheriff, whose deputies took her into custody, together with the fifteen-year-old boy, a seventeen-year-old son who was not on the premises at the time, and two other sons, aged thirteen and eleven. After a three-day trial the mother and her fifteen- and thirteen-year-old sons were sentenced to death. Aroused public opinion forced a commutation to life imprisonment.

These victims had the triple misfortune to be Negroes, to live in Georgia, and to have resisted a white man. Had they been white, the mother would have been commended, not condemned, for resisting attempted assault, and her boy extolled for his courage in coming to his mother's rescue.

"This is one of the most shocking miscarriages of justice in the thirty-nine years the N. A. A. C. P. has existed," said Walter White, head of that organization. "The verdict was based on prejudice and not on law and facts"—this from the vice-president of the Georgia Bar Association and white attorney for the defendants.

Georgia's proud motto is "Wisdom, Justice, Moderation." Both Governor Herman E. Talmadge and the Georgia Parole Board have the power to implement that motto. But a flood of vigorous protests must reach them.

Brooklyn MURIEL I. SYMINGTON

Mark Twain and Africa

Dear Sirs: I have just finished reading the issue of *The Nation* devoted to Africa. All the articles are excellent and I hope to use them in my classes.

I should like to call your attention to a matter connected with the history of imperialism in Africa which I think will interest you. Mr. Wuliger gives a good account of the part played by King Leopold in the exploitation of the Congo as well as of the interest taken by American capitalists in it in the early part of the century. But though he is writing a biography of E. D. Morel he fails to mention our own Mark Twain, who in 1905 wrote a biting satire exposing Leopold's atrocities in Belgium. The pamphlet is about twenty pages in length and is entitled "King Leopold's Soliloquy." It is not included in Mark Twain's collected works. There is a copy of it in the New York Public Library, in a pretty battered condition.

Brooklyn PHILIP SHORR

The Indians' Loss

Dear Sirs: Two recent issues of *The Nation* deserve particular comment. The editorial on the unhappy death of Felix S. Cohen is the best summation of the loss to Indians I have yet seen. To me, the inclusion of the loss to applied anthropology is especially perceptive. I have been engaged in anthropological research for Mr. Cohen's firm and attorneys associated with it, and I can testify that his grasp of ethnographical fact and theory was equal to that of most active anthropologists I know, and was unique in the legal profession.

The African issue seems a fine step toward presenting your readers with research-grounded information—which many of your articles lack, tending toward emotion-expression. You are to be congratulated on utilizing Dr. Murra, and it is to be hoped that your trend toward using social scientists will continue.

HENRY F. DOBYNS

Trumansburg, N. Y.

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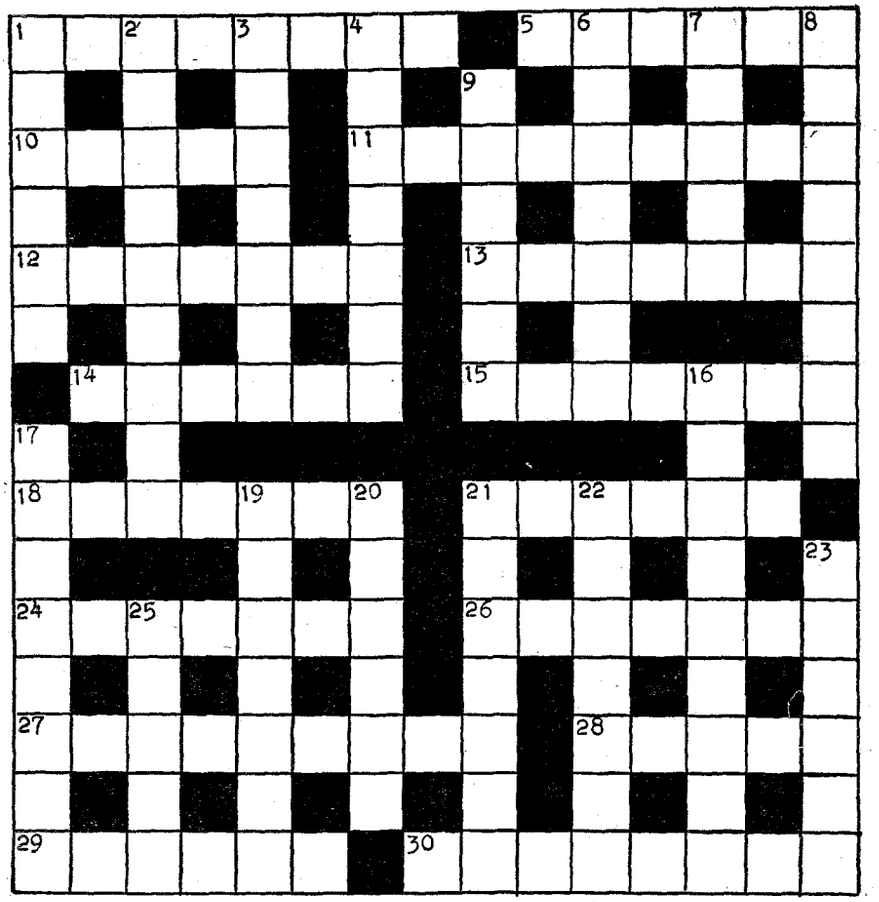
Crossword Puzzle No. 549

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 30. Cast as the dreams separation causes. (8, 8)
5 Political meeting where no-one wins? (6)
10 Stepped off. (5)
11 To take a chance, or just to think about it? (9)
12 The loser is made to provide the meat-ball! (7)
13 Putting the cart in such a way is just a device. (7)
14 Not very interesting British stuff! (3, 3)
15 5 baseball games might have something in common with one. (7)
18 Illustrated when you don't bring back the dessert. (3-4)
21 Structure of the crown. (6)
24 A particular sort of 21 down? Far from it! (7)
26 The poet said he couldn't love her so much, loved he not honour more. (7)
27 See 28.
28 and 27. Somewhat ungrammatically, does the spirit make them mad and selfish? (3, 2, 3, 6)
29 Sort of side street, in short. (6)
30 See 1 across.

DOWN

1 Behave yourself when put in a different country. (6)
2 Hereditary clans rate this. (9)
3 See 7 down.
4 Cyclic permutation of jelly-makers. (7)
6 Water. (7)
7 and 3. Knute and his horsemen? (5-3-4)
8 "Trip no further, pretty _____" (*Twelfth Night*) (8)
9 Were warriors so armed—to the teeth? (6)
16 What one might do when packing a new rifle? (6-3)
17 The gift seems to be confused with the deed. (8)
19 Masters the currents, perhaps. (7)
20 Either Pompadour or Louis XV thought this would follow them. (6)
21 Blow up, perhaps. (7)
22 A sacred name for buying places? (7)
23 Only the brave, perhaps, might take the pledge! (6)
25 Of necessity. (5)

~●~

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 548

ACROSS:—1 MOUTH ORGAN; 6 SPUR; 10 RAMADAN; 11 OPULENT; 12 CONSANGUINEOUS; 14 LOYALIST; 15 GALENA; 16 UNLOCK; 18 ABLUTION; 22 CHURCHILL DOWNS; 24 ADVISED; 25 UNNERVE; 26 EWES; 27 PROGRESSES.

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